1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

831 171 Siberia. It is difficult to find a girl that has reached or even approached the age of sexual maturity that is innocent; and the attitude of married women to conjugal fidelity is fully characterized by the proverb, "Woman is not a loaf, can't be eaten by one (man)" (Баба не калачъ, одинъ не съѣшь). On the Kolyma, where often several families live together in one house, it is difficult to say who is whose wife. Likewise, cases of incestuous cohabitation of the nearest blood-relations are nowhere more frequent than here.

In bringing about the degeneration and final extinction of many Russianized Siberian tribes, sexual dissoluteness, combined with the spread of syphilis, have played by no means the least important rôle.

831 177 I have here expatiated upon the unchastity of the Russian settlers and Russianized natives of the extreme northeast of Siberia, in order to show that the special position which the Koryak occupy among the neighboring tribes regarding the interrelation of the sexes cannot be due to the influence of the morals of the few representatives of a civilized people who have settled among them. On the contrary, the Koryak have waged an active struggle against the Russian influence which threatened to destroy their family life.[1]

To what, then, is due the fact that the sexual relations of the Koryak stand, according to our notions, above those of the tribes which are related to them by descent, — tribes that live under the same economic conditions, and under the influence of the same external circumstances? The explanation lies probably in the peculiar mental attitude of the Koryak.

836 626 Position of Girls prior to Marriage. — Girls, before marriage, must have no intercourse with men. This rule is pretty strictly observed by Koryak girls. Young men will not "serve"[2] for a dissolute girl. He who would undertake to serve for such a girl would expose himself to ridicule on the part of the other youths. On the other hand, the girl's father and elder brothers "are angry," the Koryak say, if they notice that their daughter or sister is intimate with young men. All investigators familiar with the life of primitive tribes know that the anger of the elders has more influence upon the conduct of the younger members of a family than preaching in the higher classes or blows in the lower classes of civilized nations, for the wrath of the elders may do harm to those against whom it is directed.

In two myths[3] we have characteristic episodes telling how a girl's brothers forced a young man to marry her when she complained that the young man had touched her or had addressed to her a request to give him water to drink.

836 847 Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, it is considered shameful, and her parents scold her. She goes off into the wilderness to be deliv-

[1] See Chapter XIV. [2] See p. 739. [3] See Part I, pp. 270, 275.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak RY4

Koryak consisted of families bound together by ties of blood or marriage or by economic relations, — the poor and weak were vassals of the rich and strong, — but these ties were based only in part on consanguinity; and the elders, elected as directed by the Russian Government, were not the natural heads of their communities. The representative principle itself has been accepted very superficially. Among the Maritime Koryak a few old men of the settlement meet, and, if any one points out a man of executive ability, the others give him their support. The results of these elections are communicated to the chief of the district, either directly or through the Cossacks. The district chief reports to the Governor of the Maritime Province residing in Vladivostok, who confirms the elder in his office. The elder generally remains in office for a number of years, and then resigns. Among the Reindeer Koryak these so-called "elections" of elders are still simpler. The elder is always one of the richest men, and is elected according to the instructions of the old men, possessors of herds, who decide the matter at a meeting.

The elder gathers the yasak, and delivers it at the Russian headquarters; he supervises the delivery of dogs by the families in his district, and superintends the people during the passing of Cossacks or the mail, and the visits of the officials, doctor, or minister; and he divides among the inhabitants of the settlement the pay for the transportation of mails. Those Koryak who live away from the main route have no mail to transport, and but seldom furnish free dog or reindeer sledges for the officials.

The elders of the Reindeer Koryak often simplify the fulfilment of the duties above enumerated. Possessing great numbers of reindeer, they furnish their own animals for the transportation of officials, and frequently pay out in their own fur or reindeer-skins the yasak for the entire group. The Taigonos elder, however, exacts the yasak from the members of his group.

During the summer, when communication with the Russians is temporarily suspended, the functions of elders also come to an end, for in no other phase of the family or social life are the elders of any account. Quarrels within the family do not spread beyond its limits, and friction between strangers is checked in one way or another by the parties concerned, without the interference of a recognized authoritative power.

Custom and religious taboos regulate the mutual relations of individuals and families. Frequently the opinions of old men exert a moral pressure on the conduct of the interested parties. All this does not, of course, exclude occasional violence on the part of the stronger man. On the whole, however, the general softening of manners, under the influence of Russian proximity, and possibly to a certain extent the weakening pulse of the primitive vital energy, have of late rendered violence a rare phenomenon.

It must, I think, be admitted that the imposed institution of elders is not devoid of all importance; for, though in a limited degree, it leads to the

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

practice of the principle of representation, and develops to some extent the authority of representative persons. In Itkana, for instance, the elder, besides paying the yasak of the "clan," makes purchases of flour, powder, and other articles in the official stores, and divides them among the families, whose faith in his impartiality is implicit.

I settled with individual drivers for the transportation of freight or of myself and my associates; but whenever a greater number of sledges was required, I always resorted to the elder of the settlement, who directed me to the men willing to be hired. The details were arranged with the men individually. Once when I had hired skin boats in Penshina Bay, I handed over to the elder the entire pay, consisting of bricks of tea, and he divided them among the owners of the boats and the oarsmen. On one occasion I saw an elder in the Paren settlement take by force the dogs of an old man for the transportation of Cossacks. This quarrelsome old man was dissatisfied with his share of the pay for the transportation of mail allotted to him by the elder, and refused to furnish dogs, as required by the free transportation obligation; whereupon the elder untied by force two dogs of his pack, and harnessed them to one of the sledges. Of course, he could not have done this if the other members of the settlement had not been on his side. On various occasions the elders complained to me of the disobedience of the people. The elder of the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula, whose personality and riches in reindeer had made him very influential, expressed to me his wish that the Czar might allow lazy herdsmen to be punished. He claimed that young men nowadays were worth nothing. This shows that the elder himself saw the source of his power in the Russian Government, and not in the customs of his people. Russian laws regarding the natives of Siberia, by the way, do authorize the elders to inflict punishment for trivial offences. Of course, the elder did not know this, and, had he known it, could not have acted according to this law, it being opposed to the usages of the Koryak.

In reference to food, Russian influence shows itself in favor of individualistic tendencies as against the tendencies of primitive communism in this matter.

In ancient traditions the ideal hunter is represented as follows. He heaps the results of the chase on the shore, and bids the inhabitants of the settlement divide them among themselves, and he takes for himself only what is left. He sits at a distance and watches how his catch is divided.[1] At the present time this principle is followed to a certain extent in hunting the whale, and even the white whale.[2] When their meat is divided, the entire settlement is invited. In regard to the white whale, however, this custom is not everywhere observed. I think that in reference to the products of hunting and fishing, indications of the principle of work could from the earliest times be

[1] See, for instance, Part I, Tale 94, p. 275.

[2] See Part I, p. 56.

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

times to ſet little rods round their huts. When they kill a dog, one perſon holds it by the head, another by the tail, and a third ſtabs it in the ſide; when it is dead they ſtick it upon a ſtake, turning its face towards the neareſt burning mountain.

Their civil policy is as rude as their religious; they know nothing of dividing the year into months; they have names indeed for the four ſeaſons. They have only names for the four cardinal winds. Of the conſtellations they know the Great Bear, which they call, in their language, the wild rein-deer; the Pleiades they name the duck's neſt; and the Milky Way the ſcattered river.

The diſtance of places they reckon by their day's journey, which is between 30 and 50 verſts.

Before they were ſubject to the Empire of *Ruſſia* they never had any government or chief magiſtrate among them, only thoſe that were rich had ſome ſort of authority over the poor; nor before that did they know any thing of an oath. At preſent, inſtead of ſwearing upon the croſs or goſpel, our Coſſacks oblige them to hold a muſquet by the barrel, threatening, that whoever does not obſerve this oath will certainly be ſhot by a ball. This they are ſo much afraid of, that rather than clear themſelves by this oath, if guilty, they will confeſs their crime.

They are quite ignorant of all good manners, not only in common compliments, but in receiving ſtrangers, whom they treat with an air of ſuperiority. When they entertain their gueſts they don't oblige them to over-eat themſelves, as the *Kamtſchadales* do, but give them what they have in ſufficient plenty; their beſt victuals is fat meat, and all theſe barbarous nations are exceſſively fond of fat. The *Jakutſki* would loſe an eye for a piece of fat horſe fleſh, and the *Tchukotſkoi* for a fat dog. The *Jakutſki* know that the ſtealing of any cattle is puniſhed with the loſs of all their goods; yet, if they have an opportunity, they can't reſtrain themſelves from ſtealing a fat horſe, comforting themſelves amidſt